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POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS.

WE are now entering upon a negotiation with the enemy, under auspices far more favourable than we could even have hoped for some weeks ago. Our Ally, the Emperor, is in a condition that made us tremble, and which should not be able either to make a successful stand against the French, in defence of his capital, or to procure any terms of peace which would not be attended with little short of the house of Austria, and complete derangement to the balance of power.

Ireland was in a state to the last degree alarming, containing a large body of men who had nothing but a separation from England, and waited only for the appearance of French auxiliaries to declare themselves openly, and proclaim their intentions to the world, and set about vigorously accomplishing their design.

Unfortunately, the condition of our navy, which alone he had to depend for preventing the landing of a French force in Ireland, was such as to be to the last degree encouraging the enemy, and favourable in his designs; whilst his government appeared to be daily increasing strength, and advancing to complete consolidation, ours seem as if was going to break off from us—and our measures pursued measures that tended directly to the ruin of the state, and the aggrandizement of France. Why the French Directory remained so inactive, when it would seem that it must have acted with the prospect of the most glorious success, we cannot pretend to say; we can only surmise that their inactivity; for it could have been occasioned only by a pacific disposition in the sentiments of the rulers of France, or a want of means to avail themselves of the favourable opportunities to annoy us. In either case we have cause to rejoice. If France cannot carry on the war any longer, she will of course will not insist upon unreasonable terms of peace. At all events we stand on much higher ground than we did some time back.

The disaffected party in Ireland, if not extinguished, is at least broken for the present;—it will be long before the disjointed parts can be connected, and form one great whole. Our enemies, we may say, are returned to their duty;—for those who still hold out, must be convinced, that further resistance will be attended with ruin to themselves; and the example shown on this occasion by the King and his army, will have the happy effect, not only of bringing back the mutineers to a sense of their duty, but also of invigorating the spirit of the navy, which it was at one time, and had received a mortal wound.

Our Ally the Emperor has been able to make, without our intervention, a peace far more advantageous than we could have dared to hope for, and the heavy weight of calamity that pressed upon him. If he has lost ground in one quarter, he has gained it in another; for in Ireland he has gained some compensation for what is lost from him in the Netherlands.

At one time we dreaded that a peace between the Emperor and France, in which we were not included, would be our ruin; but our counsels, we have been most agreeably surprised; and as France appears disposed to make overtures for pacification, we may now expect that the Emperor negotiated for himself.

When Lord Malmesbury was in Paris, he had no pretensions to call upon us for any of our conquests, only in as much as we insisted upon her restoring to the provinces she had wrested from us, we offered him a *quid pro quo*, by bestating a restoration for another.

As we have no occasion to purchase the restoration of provinces, which the Emperor has proposed to abandon, and consequently France has no pretence to ask us for a restoration of any of our conquests, as he has nothing to return but peace. Any language that we hold with impunity, though not with

generosity, to a prostrate enemy; but negotiations ought to be guarded in what they lay to a nation that was able to conquer powerful colonies and settlements, and that is in possession of the means of retaining them—The indisputable dominion of the sea.

Should France demand a restoration of their, and in return offer us nothing but peace, such conduct would be tantamount to a declaration on her part, that she considers us as completely exhausted—to incapable of finding resources to carry on the war—and to beat down and altered by misfortune—but there is nothing to object and degrading that we would not submit to, rather than not have a peace.

We cannot bring ourselves to believe that France, with all her violence will dare to think to degradingly of us. Should she be so mad as to imagine that we part for peace, regardless of the terms, regardless of our interests, and regardless of our honour, she is most egregiously mistaken. Should she spread such an idea to the world, she will only rouse our people to action, and, by inspiring us with the enthusiasm of indignation, render us infinitely more formidable than ever we were at any former period.

She sees the spirit displayed, almost without a dissentient voice, by our merchants,—She sees the people every where meeting to declare their determination to aim for defence of the state, and to stand or fall with the constitution, to which, under heaven, they owe their liberty, their happiness, and their opulence—the sees the army of the Empire proclaiming to all the world its loyalty to the King, and its attachment to the parliament—the sees, that at the bare idea of the country being in danger, men begin to forget the different parties to which they belonged in politics, to remember that they are Englishmen—and above all, she sees upon her coast the great Western Squadron of England, in which she had fondly hoped, that her enemies had found the seeds of anarchy and revolution—the sees that Squadron defy her naval power, disappoint all her hopes, and block up her great port of Brest, where her ships lie like islands, without spirit to put to sea, and silent as the island offered to them by the display of the British flag, flying uncontroverted along the shore of Brittany.

France sees all this, and cannot help bearing it in mind when her Minister comes to an explanation with our Ambassador. Peace we may look for, and an honourable one; for at the late elections in the different departments of the Republic, moderation and reflection prevailed, and men have been chosen to sit in the legislative assembly, who have more understanding and less enthusiasm, than their predecessors—men who feel that their country, in the midst of all her successes, stand greatly in need of peace, and who will not refuse it to her and to Europe on slight grounds.

Barthelemy, the new Director, is decidedly for peace: the speech made by him at his installation is a strong proof of it. We wish that the answer made to him by the President, had breathed the same pacific spirit, and assured that it felt far short of it in that respect.

However, we console ourselves with the reflection, that as Barthelemy is by much the ablest man in the Directory, that he is to in a measure acquainted with the political state of Europe, that on great political and diplomatic topics, his colleagues must look up to him;—and that he possesses the confidence of the country at large, not solely on account of his talents and experience, but on account of his being totally unconnected with any of the parties that have agitated France, he will be able to gain an ascendancy in the Directory, and bring his co-directors to think with him, that nothing but peace can close the wounds of France and of Europe. In such a task, the wishes of all the friends of humanity, to whatever country they may belong, must go with him.

LONDON, July 5.
IRISH AFFAIRS.

THE following accounts from Ireland are contained in an alarming letter, in as much as

they show that the ramifications of the confederacy distinguished by the name of United Irishmen, are in reality infinitely more extensive than ever the reports of the two houses of Parliament in Ireland on that subject had led us to believe.

From these reports we were induced to think that the confederacy was confined, or nearly so, to the province of Ulster: we find now however, that it has travelled to the other extremities of the kingdom, and gained numerous proselytes both to the south and the west.

The discovery made in the camp at Bandon in the county of Cork, has but too clearly established the melancholy truth, and opened a gloomy perspective to those who contemplate the political situation of affairs in Ireland.

The plan laid by the conspirators affords the greatest ground for alarm, as it was not a sudden ebullition of discontent or ill will, but a cool, deliberate design, every part of which is system, reflection, combination and talents. In a word every thing was conducted with so much secrecy, and every precaution necessary to the success of a great and dangerous enterprise, was so well taken, that had not an accomplice, either from remorse of conscience, or hope of reward, betrayed his associates and revealed the plot, the consequence must have been such as would have made humanity shudder, and perhaps have in a high degree endangered the interest of the British Empire.

In the camp at Bandon were stationed his Majesty's 30th regt. of foot, a battalion of militia, attached to it, and the county of Leitrim regt. of militia, making in the whole 1500 men.

At no very great distance from this camp are two others in the same county, (Cork) one of which is at Rataoanuck. A communication was opened between the privates of the militia stationed in all three, and a regular plan of operations was digested by them, for counteracting those pursued by government in the North, for the extirpation of the principles that bound together the members of the society of United Irishmen.

The only part of their plan which has yet transpired, is this, that on the 1st day of this month, at an hour agreed upon, the men were to rise in all the three camps, put their officers to death together, with the two regulars who should oppose them, and make themselves masters of all the stores, ammunition, arms and artillery. This being effected, they were to raise the standard of United Irishmen, and invite all the friends of their cause in every part of the kingdom to repair to it. The 30th regiment in particular, it is said, was marked out for destruction, on account of the steady loyalty it had displayed in seconding the measures of government for disarming and apprehending United Irishmen. We have heard, however, that the massacre was not to have been extended beyond the commissioned and non-commissioned officers.

On this never have been, and never will be, as binding us, on the multitude as *self interest*. Make it the interest of men to be true to you, and you need not think of exacting an oath of fidelity from them.

This system must at last be pursued with respect to Ireland. The government of that country must undergo a very considerable change, before any reasonable hope of lasting tranquillity there can be entertained. Neither England nor Ireland can afford to keep a large army constantly on foot in the latter kingdom; and it is the peculiar duty of military force that alone keeps down the spirit of insurrection, we may naturally expect that it will rise when that pressure is withdrawn.

Away then with force; let the government be established where it ought to stand, in the hearts and affections of the people; and should we be desired and seduced from this promise to disturb the tranquillity of the country, twenty of his neighbours would appear to secure and bring him to condign punishment.

For as the present session of Parliament is advanced in Ireland, as well as here, some steps ought to be taken before the recess, for